

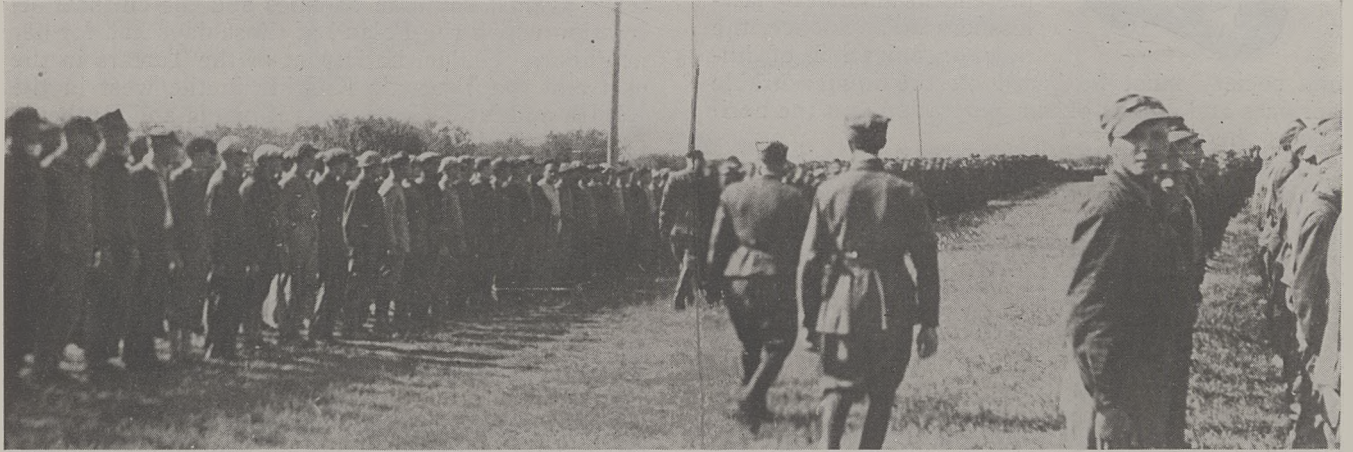
The Polish Review

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POLISH FORCES IN RUSSIA



First Picture from Russia showing Polish Soldiers, released from Prison Camps. The Polish Army in Russia when organized, will have strength of about 300,000 Men.

POLAND AS A SEA POWER

IN ACCORDANCE with President Wilson's peace conditions, which as early as 1918 proclaimed the need for the establishment of an independent Poland with free access to the sea, the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles restored part of the Baltic seaboard to Poland. As an outcome of the clashing opinions of the Powers which decided the matter, Poland received the return of barely 91 miles of coast. Danzig, on the strength of the same Treaty was, together with its immediate territory constituted as a Free City although it was incorporated within the Customs area of Poland.

The seacoast recovered by Poland was a mere fragment of her former coastline, deprived of all port installations and larger agglomerations of population. It was an area of barren sand stretches and peat-bogs, with tiny, poverty-stricken fishermen's settlements here and there. The Port of Danzig was, it is true, left at the disposal of Poland, but it was then in a state of serious neglect and in any case was not prepared to carry out the tasks expected of it for the maritime commodity exchange of Poland. Poland had no merchant fleet of her own. She had no firms which specialized in overseas trade, nor were there any larger cadres of workers versed in the various domains of work on the sea. This made

it essential for Poland to undertake the training of a suitable maritime personnel without loss of time. The Polish Republic had to find the most favorable solutions of the problems presented in the domain of port facilities and of shipping. The economic life of the country also demanded that an appropriate apparatus of overseas trade be set up, and that the problem presented by sea-fisheries be satisfactorily settled.

Restored Poland therefore had to begin work on the maritime sector from the bottom up. To do this she had no reserves of trained manpower nor adequate capital. The rapid progress made in launching Poland's maritime policies after the First World War was due mostly to the realization of the values which the country could secure by making the fullest use of her own access to the sea.

Other effective influences working in this direction were events, arisen independent of Poland's will but skilfully and promptly taken advantage of and put to use.

They made it urgently necessary to undertake investment works in the Port of Danzig in order to bring its technical state to a level answering the new needs of the traffic. In the years 1922 and 1923, Dan-

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POLAND SPEAKS . . .

From An Address Made By Wladyslaw Raczewicz, The President Of The Polish Republic



THE world today, rent by the disaster of war, is seeking to evolve new forms in national and international relations, and to set the ideas of justice and freedom against the spirit of conquest embodied in the "new order." If the world is to be ruled by these ideas and not by lawlessness and violence, the new organization of human society must be based on the immeasurable sacrifices and efforts of our generation and the heritage of the past.

. . . Respect for the religious convictions of others sprang in the old Polish Republic from profound religious faith. In 1573 the Polish Sejm resolved that no citizen should be persecuted or victimized on account of his religion, and the people undertook to defend themselves against anyone attempting to threaten the life or property of others under the pretext of religion. The conviction that individual liberty and the right to freedom of action were to be restricted only by ethical standards found legal expression in the Acts of 1422 and 1430 through the principle: *Neminem captivabimus nisi iure victum*.

In 1385 a solemn union was concluded between Poland and Lithuania. At first it was a personal one: Poland offered its throne to a Lithuanian dynasty which with its people agreed in return to embrace the Christian faith and to respect the political liberties of the Polish people. This union was modified by a series of treaties until the final Act of Union was concluded in Lublin in 1569. The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including Ruthenia, were formed into one indivisible State ruled by one king who was elected by a common Sejm and received the common crown at Cracow. The two States thus united had a common monetary system and a common foreign policy; both lands, however, retained their separate institutions: separate governments, treasuries and armies.

The first act of union made at Krewo in 1385 declared: "We trust that this Union will redound to the Glory of God, and promote the salvation of souls, respect for men and the advancement of the Kingdom." The principles underlying the Act of Union and the aims to which it tended are revealed by the following words taken from the Act of Horodlo in 1413: "Nor can that endure which has not its foundation upon love. For love alone diminishes not, but shines with its own light, makes an end of discord, softens the fires of hate, restores peace to the world, brings together the sundered, redresses wrongs, aids all and injures none. And whoso invokes its aid shall find peace and safety and have no fear of future ill; through it laws are made, kingdoms are ruled, cities ordered and the state of the Commonwealth attains

to the highest end." A later Act of 1446 stated: "By unanimous and mutual resolution, will and consent we have united, persuaded and brought together in brotherly union the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania." In 1569 the final Act of this Union solemnly declared that the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania formed "One Commonwealth."

The union of these nations arose from their geographical situation, the necessities of common defense against common enemies and the cultural attraction which the Poland of those days had for her neighbors. Under the impact of the Tartars in the east and the Teutonic Knights in the west in the XIIIth and XIV Centuries Lithuania and Ruthenia had organized themselves between the river Niemen and Dniepr into one State, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, under an autocratic Lithuanian dynasty. Too weak and too poor to defend two fronts at once, Lithuania wished to obtain the help of Poland, a country of older civilization, populous though smaller, which, situated between the Vistula and part of the Oder, was also menaced in Pomerania by the Teutonic Knights and on its southern marches by the Tartars.

Even in those times the Poles were noted for their attachment to political liberties, which found expression both in the Habeas Corpus Act and in religious toleration. At synods Poland protested against the extermination of the pagans of Samogitia under the pretext of spreading the faith. Within her frontiers Catholic Poles lived side by side with Ruthenians of the Greek Church and the Moslem descendants of the Tartars, each respecting the other's religion. During the Reformation Poland gave refuge to those persecuted elsewhere for conscience' sake: Protestant Scotsmen, in the days of Mary Stuart, Catholic Scots of a later period, in great numbers sought there religious freedom. Poland was then the country offering an asylum to the Jews, driven from other parts of the Continent.

Attracted by her strength, political liberties and religious toleration, a number of countries desired union with Poland in that Golden Age of her history when learning, culture, the arts and political thought all flourished. In the XVth Century Prussia aimed at union with Poland; the Society of the Lizard, formed for that purpose by the inhabitants of these countries and bearing the heaviest sacrifices for the sake of that ideal, had long been urging Poland to free them from the Teutonic yoke. In the XVIth Century the peoples of the Baltic countries turned to Poland to defend their liberties against the tyranny of the Tsar of Muscovy, asking to be admitted under a common roof of State. Even the Muscovite boyars showed a tendency, cruelly suppressed by the despotism of the Tsars, to make a union with Poland.

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BIOLOGICAL DEATH OF GERMANY

By STEFAN ROPP

THE slogan which for years has served totalitarian argument within Germany and abroad has been "Volk ohne Raum," meaning "a people without space." Nazi-party spokesmen quoted accommodating Reich scientists and pre-Nazi regime politicians, now scattered to the four winds, singing in a united chorus: "We are a mighty people, but we've nowhere to go."

Strange as it may seem, this basic political slogan of the past twenty years, on which Germany built up her entire aggression within and without, and conscripted the convictions and enthusiasm of the young generation, is disproved by figures of the official *Statistisches Reichsamt*. These figures show that for the past 40 years Germany has been in the throes of a most violent process of biological depopulation. This is, indeed, an incurable disease of which the Inca, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Greek, and the Roman empires died. The *Reichsamt* takes pains to prove that Germany is suffering from this same incurable ailment.

For 40 years, German birth rate coefficients had been falling. They decreased gradually, from 1880 onward and then, with a sudden abysmal leap, after the First World War.

Let us look at some of the German figures published.

- (1) Calling 100 the birth rate coefficient necessary for the nation to keep up permanently its average, the coefficient in Germany is now 70, whereas in Poland it is 140 and in Russia 150.
- (2) At the beginning of the century, for every hundred births indispensable to keep the German nation from decrepitude, there were born 140 children; gradually this number decreased to 100, and now it is 70.
- (3) In the last 15 years, the number of people over 64 years of age has increased 61%.
- (4) There is in Germany a cumulative deficiency of 13,000,000 children. This deficiency is growing year by year.

* Calculation made by Ernst Kahn, basis 1925: a) Declining general mortality rate: 1) Infants up to one year will fall to 3% before 1950; 2) Remaining age classes will decrease by 20% before 1970. b) The coefficient of marriages will increase from 59.2 in the years 1925/29 to 69.6 in the years 1970/74. c) The coefficient of births will decrease from 19.4% in 1929 to 15% in 1950/54 — otherwise stable (approximate figures).

(5) To put it in another way: in 1880, for every 1000 women between the ages of 18 and 35, who were responsible for 90.6% of the total number of births in Germany, 300 women bore children; by 1910 this figure decreased to 200; in 1925 the figure came down to 150; in 1933 it was only 99.6.

(6) This signifies that in 1880 one out of every three German women became a mother, but in 1933 only one of every eleven. Such is the direct

result of the continuous aging of a nation.

If the average German becomes older, so does the average German woman. Since the age bracket in which maximum births are biologically possible does not change, the consequence is that to an aging nation every year fewer children are born. This is exactly what happens in Germany.

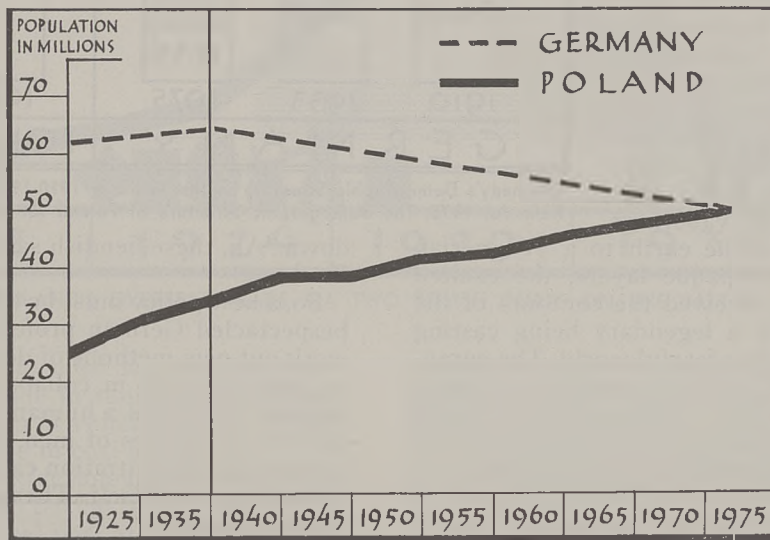
The result of these figures for the whole German population reveals a most astounding fact: in spite of everything

that German scientists, paid for their efforts by Mr. Goebbels, may say the figures of the *Statistisches Reichsamt* prove conclusively that the absolute maximum population of Germany occurs between the years 1940-45, decreasing later most alarmingly.

If the population in 1925 is taken as 100, then in 1940 that population has increased to 104.9. This is the highest numerical attainment. From here on German population in absolute numbers decreases to become once more 100 in the year 1950 and 79.7 in the year 1975. If the German population in the pre-Munich boundaries was about 66.8 millions then in 1940 it would reach 69.8 millions and in 1985, it will recede to 48 millions. These figures do not take into account the losses of the present war. Were these losses of the same order as those of the last war, then the German population in the year 1985, will not exceed 42 millions.* On the other hand Poland would have had 56 million inhabitants in 1985. The striking thing is that whichever way these figures are interpreted, as they have been by German writers like Burgendorfer, Danzer, Kiesewetter and others, the maximum German population always falls on or about the fateful year 1940.

It now becomes apparent why the timing of Hitler's armament program was calculated for a zero hour at the end of 1939.

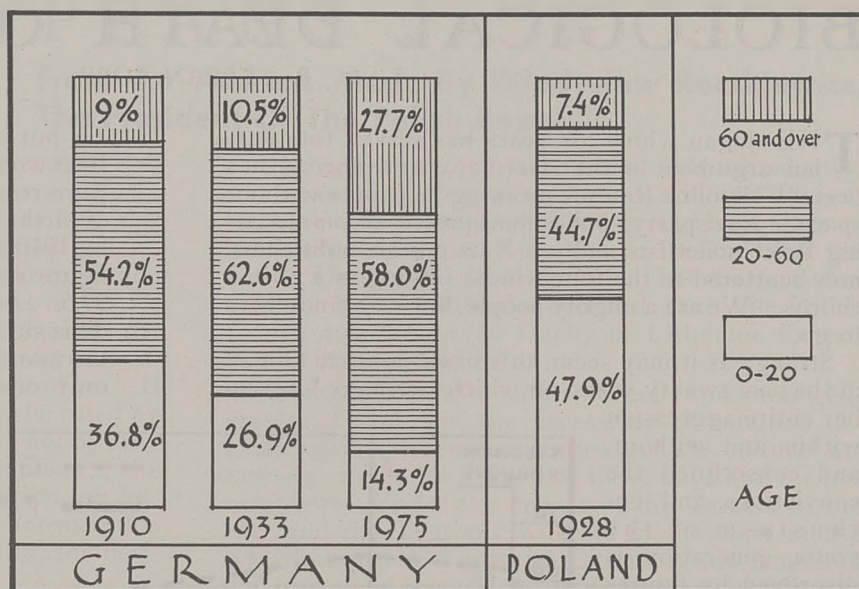
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Estimated Evolution of the Population of Germany, and Corresponding Calculation of Poland's Population made by Ernst Kahn.*

(Continued from page 3)

It was obvious to the bemonocled war-lords of the military clique, wangling the scarecrow Schicklgruber before enraptured masses, that a bid for world power would be doomed to failure had not the aggression been timed to occur when Germany's recruiting and labor potential was at its highest. Total war is not what war was in 1914. It seems to imply a highly trained technical body of youngsters perverted, morally and physically, and severed from all the rest of the German nation so as to abstract them from all humane environment. Cooped up in military isolation, with all feelings of mercy amputated, steeled in scorn for everybody including their parents, they were imbued with unending admiration for the illustrious Adolf who, hovering amid celestial vaporings, translated himself from the earth to a Wagnerian legend. Through these opaque layers, the excited underlings but dimly perceived the contours of the puffed-up paper-hanger, a legendary being casting its ominous shadow upon a fearful world. The enraptured "Jugend" incited by their standing as crusaders and doped guardedly and scientifically with synthetic opiates, were just the generation that their idol was preparing for perdition. For this reason it was taught to look upon itself rather as a legend of the past. It perceived itself more in history than in being, because Adolf and the other high priests and acolytes of *Mein Kampf* were mercifully pleased to make the sacrifice of a whole generation of Germans to attain that living space of which so much was made. And how disappointing it must now be to see that a course of events, deeply ingrained in the plasma of German blood, over which human will has no more sway than over the course of the stars, points an inexorable finger to the converse formula: "Raum ohne Volk" which is "space without people," a Germany without Germans, a world empire with merely a paper-hanger as sole inhabitant. What a come



Germany's Demographic Structure in the Years of 1910-1933, and as estimated by Ernst Kahn for 1975. The Demographic Structure of Poland for 1928 is given for comparison.

down! Ah, these fiendish saboteurs of the *Statistisches Reichsamt*!

So, a new policy must be devised. With all celerity, bespectacled German professorhood was ordered to work out new methods of demographic combat. And so, psychologists in collaboration with the criminologists, produced a human brute capable of torturing whole families of men, women, youngsters and children in concentration camps, without undue nervous fatigue to itself. They called the new product "genus Gestapo."

The medical profession devised advanced methods of sterilization practiced on thousands of young men and women, abstracting millions for work in Germany and working them to death by allotting them just that fraction of work over and above what they know could be performed on the deficient supply of calories. Dietitians carefully and with many an inhuman experiment, worked out rations on which people most certainly will die. Economists worked out scientific dismantling of local production with a minimum of effort, so that sustenance could not be regained by the invaded neighbor nation. Mr.

Schacht with the "D" banks worked out precise methods of inflation in the invaded countries so that all the capital and consumers goods could be legally bought up at no cost to Germany. And so on and on, the learned nation of herr doctors systematically worked out the principles, means and aspects whereby national destinies of neighboring nations could be shaped and their doom conscientiously organized.

Terrified, with one eye on the dwindling ranks of his super-creatures mowed down relentlessly by biological decrepitude, the raging Schicklgruber tried to make good that

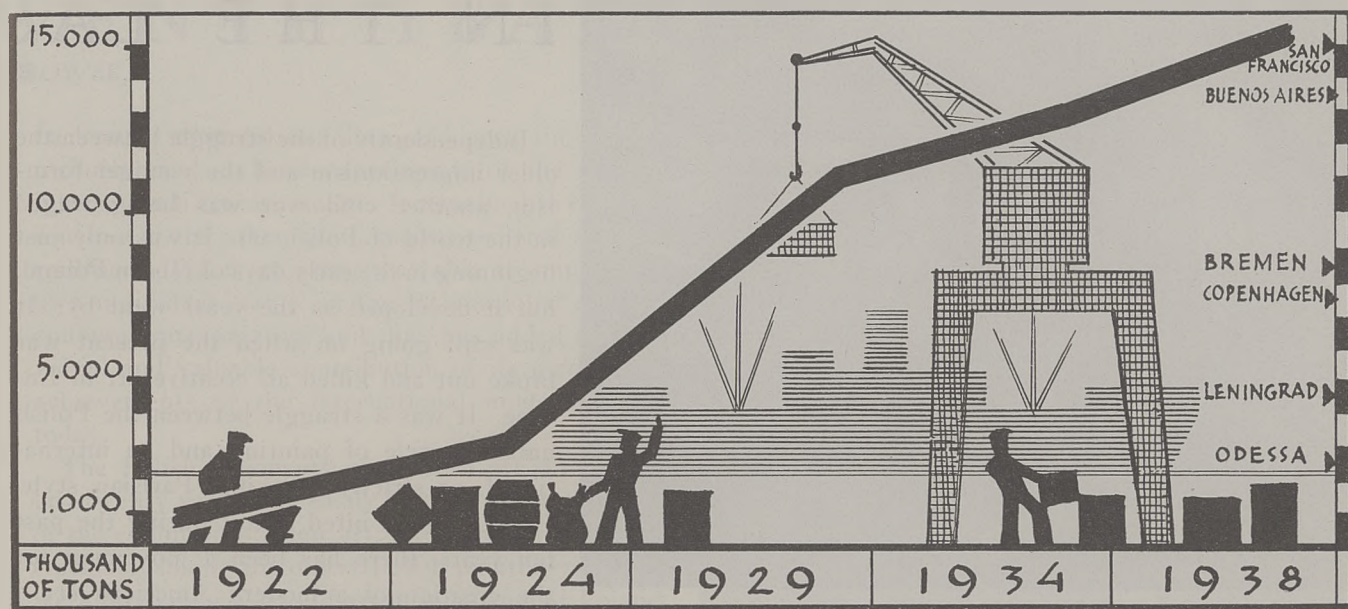
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YEAR	
1920	25.694.000
1940	35.398.000
1945	37.528.000
1950	39.433.000
1955	41.190.000
1960	42.787.000
The natural increase of Polish population in 1921-1935 was larger than the German estimation.	
1921	26.829.000
	+24.6% = 1935-33.418.000

Increase in Poland's Population as Calculated by the German Statistical Bureau (*Statistische Reichsamt*, 1925, Volume 401, page 683).

POLAND AS A SEA POWER

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POLAND'S OVERSEAS TRADE VIA TWO POLISH PORTS ON THE BALTIC

zig was already unable to cope with the task presented by the export trade in timber from Poland. In 1925, Danzig was again in a similar situation with regard to the export trade in coal and grain.

Independently of the extension and modernization of the Port of Danzig, the concept of the construction of a purely Polish, national port at Gdynia was realized. The decision to build this port was taken in 1920 and the first works were commenced in the spring of 1921. The lack of capital was the chief obstacle to a rational and planned realization of the project for laying the foundation of Polish power on the Baltic. It was under such difficult circumstances that the Polish legislative chambers on September 23rd, 1922, enacted a law which endowed the question of building the harbor with juridical form. Financial difficulties, however, still inhibited the rate of work. Then came the year 1926, a turning point in Poland's efforts in maritime matters. Intensive and planned work was undertaken which inaugurated the country's maritime policies.

The years passed by. The results of the intensive efforts were seen in the Port of Gdynia, which in point of goods traffic and modernity of portal installations undoubtedly occupied in 1939 the first place on the Baltic.

In 1938, the aggregate goods traffic of the Port of Gdynia came to more than 9,000,000 tons. The Port was not only properly equipped to handle bulk goods but also general cargo of a higher unit value. For this purpose the portal area contained forty large warehouses with an aggregate floor space of about 250,000 square metres. Concurrently with the technical equipping of the Port, a large number of industrial establishments arose, such as the rice-husking plant, oil-crushing mills, fruit-processing works, a banana and lemon ripening plant, a coffee-bean-

husking plant, a fishmeal factory, a number of fish curing and packing works, a shipbuilding yard for fishermen's cutters, and so on.

A particularly important event was the opening of a shipbuilding yard for the construction of sea-going vessels. This was of great importance not only for Gdynia itself but also for the whole of industry in the Polish hinterland.

The basic objective in view when extending the Port of Gdynia was the intention of concentrating within its traffic such goods which theretofore had not used the sea route in the export trade, as also those goods which entered Poland by the overland route via foreign ports and with the avoidance of Danzig. Typical examples in this connection were: fresh and dried fruit, rice, tobacco, hides, tanning extracts, and textile raw materials. In 1922 only 7.3 percent of Poland's foreign trade was maritime and in 1938 as much as 77.7 percent in bulk and 62.7 percent in value. In 1939, the aggregate goods traffic of the Gdynia and Danzig ports exceeded 16 million tons. This is a figure which compared well with the traffic of the largest ports in Western Europe, like Liverpool (16,640,000 net registered tons in 1935), Marseilles (16,612,000), and was larger than the traffic of such ports as: Leningrad* (4,196,000), Odessa (2,557,000), Boston, San Francisco, Buenos Aires, New Orleans, Rio de Janeiro, Genoa, Naples, Sydney, Bremen, Copenhagen, etc.

From the very beginning there has been a steady growth in Poland's trade with countries in other continents. This evolution will be brought out more clearly in the following table as far as the last ten years before the war are concerned:

* Handbook of the Soviet Union, page 256.

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Wladyslaw Jarocki: In The Field (Naturalistic Style)

MODERN TRENDS OF POLISH PAINTING IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS

By DR. PIOTROWSKA

Independently of the struggle between the older impressionism and the younger formism, another civil war was being waged in the world of Polish art. It was only just beginning in the early days of reborn Poland, but it developed as the years went by. It was still going on when the present war broke out and killed all creative art in Europe. It was a struggle between the Polish national style of painting and an international, or strictly speaking, Parisian style. Even in the United States during the past ten years, there has been a movement for the creation of a modern American style, based on colonial art and the local art ex-

pressions of the 18th and 19th Centuries, the so-called American folk-art. In Poland, however, the tension between national and international art trends was much greater than abroad, with the exception, perhaps, of Mexico.

All in all, every Polish painter who during the last twenty years was trying to create his own artistic form was obliged, consciously or unconsciously, to solve two independent problems. He had to decide his attitude towards naturalistic or impressionistic painting, and towards the opposing abstract or "formistic" art. As a modern he had to choose one or the other of these two extreme tendencies, or to find a way in between. As a matter of fact, as time went on, all individual creative modern Polish artists, and with them the whole trend of Polish painting, moved toward a harmonious compromise, toward the creation of a style combining the naturalistic art expressions with the anti-naturalistic ones. Thus was the cleavage healed and a new style created that thanks to its qualities of harmony and moderation is reminiscent of neo-classicism.

On the other hand, every Polish artist of the last twenty years had to choose between influences flooding in from abroad, especially from Paris, and local Polish traditions. These traditions are most explicitly expressed by Polish peasant art. Again it is important to note — as time went on Polish artists succeeded in harmonizing the alien influences with the traditions of their own country, and in combining these two heterogeneous elements into new entities. Thanks to the influence from abroad, Polish art of the twenty years of independent Poland was never

backward, as it did not disregard even the boldest technical and stylistic experiments of the modern international art movement. It remained in constant touch. On the other hand, thanks to local national traditions, Polish painting was able to impress its own individual stamp on the international style of contemporary painting and thus has added an individual and valuable contribution of its own to the achievements of the international modern art of today.

The Polish exponents of modern art during the last twenty years may easily be divided, on the basis of the evolution of their art, into three artistic generations. Among the oldest Polish painters who still were producing works of art in independent Poland, above all J. Fałat (1853-1929) and L. Wyczółkowski (1852-1937) must be mentioned. They may both be counted among the creators of the Polish variation of impressionism. Among the most prominent artists who followed in their footsteps is W. Jarocki, (born 1879) who in 1929 came to the United States to serve on the jury of the Carnegie International Exhibition of Painting in Pittsburgh. On the other hand Olga Boznanska, born 1865, resident in Paris — well known in this country, as her works are on display at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh and the Brooklyn Museum in New York and other museums — Pankiewicz (1867-1940) — were ardent admirers of Parisian art.

The second generation of painters in independent Poland was in the main formed by artists who at one time had championed the anti-naturalistic trends in art, and later modelled their work on nature, even though they usually deformed it to some extent, subordinating everything to composition and coloring, to which as formists they had paid homage in the days of their "abstract" painting. Who would guess today that from among the above group T. Czyżewski, for instance, belonged not so long ago, by virtue not only of his brush but also of his pen, to the most violent exponents of "formism."

At the same time T. Czyżewski is one of the most passionate defenders of French influence in Polish painting. He and his followers have no appreciation of the great talent of Zofia Stryjeńska, who, together with a group of other artists, bases her style largely on Polish traditional peasant motifs. Tadeusz Pruszkowski, on the other hand, is an artist of quieter mood, one of those who have approached nearest to the neo-classic style. His influence was predominant over the generation of artists whose artistic training dated from the rebirth of Poland. One of the foremost representatives of this third generation of artists who put independent Poland in the forefront of modern painting is Bolesław Cybis, now in America.

(To be continued in the next issue)



Erwin Elster: A Boy Drawing (Formistic Style)



T. Pruszkowski: A Lady (Neo-Classic Style)

POLAND AS A SEA POWER

(Continued from page 5)

Poland's trade with non-European Countries

(In thousand tons)

Year	Total	Imports	Exports
1938	1,719	919	800
1937	1,944	827	1,117
1936	1,289	526	763
1935	1,211	461	750
1934	1,226	510	716
1933	692	350	342
1932	433	252	181
1931	536	334	202
1930	666	483	183
1929	943	710	233

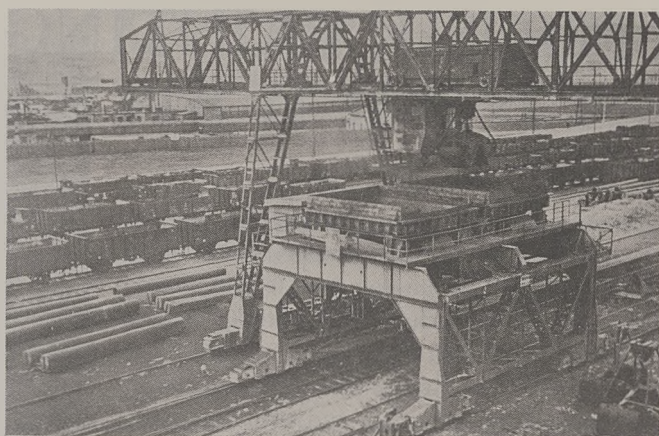
The percentage share of trade with non-European countries in the foreign trade of Poland was as follows during the same years:

Year	Total		Imports		Exports	
	Weight	Value	Weight	Value	Weight	Value
1938	9.1	24.2	27.2	34.1	5.1	13.5
1937	10.4	27.5	22.4	36.0	7.5	18.6
1936	8.0	24.5	17.2	35.1	5.9	14.2
1935	7.6	23.7	17.9	34.4	5.6	13.7
1934	7.2	22.3	20.0	36.0	4.9	11.1
1933	4.5	17.9	14.9	31.1	2.6	6.6
1932	2.8	14.8	14.1	22.3	1.3	4.8
1931	2.5	12.7	11.4	23.4	1.1	4.2
1930	2.9	12.8	13.5	22.5	1.0	4.0
1929	3.6	13.8	14.0	22.8	1.1	4.0

An examination of the figures depicting the percentage share of non-European trade in the aggregate foreign trade of Poland, indicates that, with the exception of the last year covered by the data, turn-overs with overseas countries have been steadily increasing. This applies pre-eminently to Poland's import trade. We see, moreover, that imports from overseas countries were much larger than exports to them. This is explained by the fact that Poland was a good sales market for the production of overseas lands.

The division of Poland's overseas trade by continents is shown in the following data for 1938:

	Total in tons	
North America	341,035	
South America	445,321	
Central America	32,995	
Africa	619,035	
Asia	262,098	
Oceania	17,159	
Total	1,717,643	
% share in the total foreign trade of Poland	9.1	
	(24.2 of total value)	
	Import tons	Export tons
North America	284,135	56,900
South America	168,524	276,797
Central America	27,338	5,657
Africa	277,408	341,627
Asia	145,620	116,478
Oceania	15,337	1,822
Total	918,362	799,281



Gdynia Harbor. Automatic Weighing of Bulk Goods.

% share in the total foreign trade of Poland	27.1	5.1
	(34.1 Value)	(13.3 Value)

It will be seen from the above that North America occupies the leading place in this table. Although Africa surpasses it in point of volume, North America holds first place in point of value, since the commodities dealt in between Poland and North America, with the United States primarily, have high unit prices.

The results attained were due in some measure to the system of preferential maritime Customs tariffs and by that of applying Customs rebates and relief measures. The regimentation of the country's foreign trade during the last few years before the war has also exercised some influence by supporting the lines of Poland's maritime policies. The same object was also served by the differentiation in the help given to exporters in dependence on the route and direction of the outgoing shipments. Still more important than the above mentioned means, as furthering Poland's maritime policies, was the purposeful tariff policy of the Polish State Railways. The outcome of the State Railways' policy soon became apparent: they not only made it possible to concentrate about 80 percent of the country's overseas trade at the ports of the Polish Customs area, but also contributed to extend the service range of these ports to the neighboring lands, whose transit trade via the ports of the Polish Customs area was in excess of 1,000,000 tons per annum.

Poland's foreign trade developed in dependence on the fluctuations of business conditions and reached its highest level in 1928, a year which was marked by the peak of prosperity. During that epoch, that part of Poland foreign trade which passed through the ports increased, steadily both absolutely and relatively with regard to aggregate figures. In 1938, the aggregate goods traffic of Gdynia came to 9,173,438 tons and that of Danzig to 7,127,295 tons, making an aggregate of 16.3 million tons. This figure placed the complex of Polish ports at fourth place in Europe, after the ports of Rotterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg.

In order to secure a fuller idea of the communication (Please turn to page 11)

BIOLOGICAL DEATH OF GERMANY

(Continued from page 4)

deficiency by creating one of his own making in the conquered lands.

The whole gruesome design, the barbarity of which is equalled only by its fathomless ignorance, now becomes apparent:

1. Germany forced war on the world the moment her population had reached its maximum.
2. Knowing that if she loses this opportunity, never again will she be in a position to attempt world domination, her war-lords are content to sacrifice to that end, a whole generation of youth trained for that purpose, not only for the murder in cold blood of others, but also for their own extinction.
3. By an exhibition of cruelty unsurpassed in the history of barbarism, Germany is using every method known to science to bring about the extermination of the most prolific of those peoples who have the misfortune to be her neighbors.
4. Thus Germany is abstracting from Poland hundreds of thousands of women in the 18-35 age bracket, sterilizing masses of young men, as has been proved by the testimony of eye-witnesses, by sworn affidavits and by cross-examination of trustworthy persons unknown to each other.
5. What is more, the Germans are trying to organize a mode of life which by undernourishment, moral degradation, lack of primary schooling, and by every other form of pressure, will reduce these peoples to the level of domestic animals, so that breeding coefficients may be decreed for the human herd.
6. German colonization of occupied countries has been so unsuccessful that in the so-called Wartheland (Western Poland) she has begun the afforestation of previously cultivated lands. A strange colonization by trees, since no human element is available.
7. Having proclaimed the absolute race-superiority of the German nation, no contact whatever was tolerated with conquered slave peoples. Yet, when the decrepitude of the Germans began to be taken into account in juxtaposition to the "ausrotten" (exterminate) slogan, hundreds of thousands of

foreign nationals were forced to declare themselves "volksdeutsche." This policy was applied in Upper Silesia and the Pomorze to Poles. It proves conclusively that Germany begins to feel the demographic vacuum and that the slogan "people without space" is being reversed in order to absorb unwilling neighbors.

8. An instruction was issued recently by the German government to Governor Frank and Governor

Rosenberg, in which the treatment of the subjected Slav populations was outlined in detail. Not more than one medical practitioner for 10,000 inhabitants is to be allowed; no medicines, on an appended list, may be distributed or sold; rations should not exceed starvation standards for all inhabitants not directly engaged in war or food production; towns should be strictly quarantined for food supply from surrounding countryside, except within the rationing system; all infringement must be punished ruthlessly and capital punishment may be used in all such cases. If these instructions are obeyed, the general plan of German domination in the east will succeed because it is to be expected, the instruction says, that epidemics and exhaustion from winter depor-

tations, starvation, and work will cause not less than ten million deaths, including children, in Poland alone.

And yet, by no act of bestial cunning, by no scientific medical formula, by no economic principles of plenty, has it ever been possible to reverse the algebraical sign of the physiological elements whereby an aging nation has once seen the writing on the wall. By sacrificing a generation of its youth to their lust for world's power, the doom of the German nation has only been brought nearer. No marriage honors, no relaxed sex-ethics now advocated by German moralists, no Rosenbergian creed that would make a religion of reproduction, no bribery for motherhood, none of the superlative methods to which only German "kultur" is adequate, will ever change the law of biological death from which the German nation will perish.

In the light of these facts, that no propaganda can obliterate and no argument changes the facts that history will prove, German leadership stands unmasked, monstrous, beyond compare.



"Remain in the East" — was a German propaganda slogan before the war. The Germans were unable to develop properly their own eastern provinces before the war which disproves their claim that the Germans were "Volks ohne Raum," and proves that the decrease in their demographic situation was their greatest danger.

FEDERATION AND FREE EUROPE

By ARTHUR SELDON

THE principle of nationality was used in the liberal era of the 19th Century as the means to the emancipation of Europe from the particularisms of principalities and princes. In totalitarian ideology the conception of the State as a means has become the conception of the State as an end. The doctrine of unlimited national sovereignty is essentially a part of the ideology which proclaims the State all and Man nothing. Sovereign States are "free"; but a world of sovereign States cannot maintain an effective system of international law, and in such a world the final arbiter in disputes is war. Therefore to free the State is to enslave the citizen; to "free" France, Britain, Poland, Austria is to make the French, the British, the Poles, the Austrians slaves to periodic war, political tempest, human indignity.

On these lines a powerful case can be built up for the limitation of national sovereignty, and for the creation of a Federal system of international government. Of course there will be practical difficulties. There will be political difficulties, there will also be socio-political problems; a Federal system requires a certain degree of political education in those whom it endows with Federal citizenship, and more particularly a certain devotion to democratic ideals and institutions. It is true that political unification has often preceded the emergence of a common consciousness, and has itself proved a cultural solvent; the North American Federation has absorbed a multitude of creeds, races, and nationalities, all gradually accommodated to a common loyalty to American institutions. But in Europe it is not a case of absorbing diversified peoples into a Federal system, but of introducing a Federal system into a continent composed of diversified nationalities with roots in the distant past.

Then there are the problems raised in the economic sphere. The Treaty of Versailles has received much unjustified criticism, but it embodied one error which is rarely recognized. Thinking to liberate peoples it followed the 19th Century practice of constituting them sovereign States. But in the years after Versailles the ever-present fear of aggression induced the new nations to seek refuge not only in military alliances but also — and here the new spirit of nationalism was not without blame — in economic self-sufficiency. The European economy was condi-

tioned by fear and national assertiveness as well as by geography and economic calculation; it was disintegrated by mounting tariff walls, and its reintegration will present stubborn political and social problems.

But long before these and other problems are faced in practice, we need to ask: If after the war there is a general desire to apply the Federal principle, what form of Federal organization can Europe be expected to adopt? What degree of power would it be wise to allow to the central Government? If economic collectivization is considered desirable, on what scale is it possible? and by which authorities can it be undertaken? Opinion on these issues is by no means settled; it ranges from those who envisage a limited Federal authority to those who would invest it with far-reaching, comprehensive duties and functions. We shall argue here that if the federal nature of the association is to be maintained, if political liberty and the freedom to develop national cultures is to be preserved, and if the association is to be politically stable, any federal system which may be established must be not rigid or centralized, but loose and flexible.

Federation requires the territorial extension but the functional limitation of government. It involves an increase not in the intensity but in the area of central authority. The Federal authority is limited to those powers which it can exercise better than its constituent States; it is not the instrument of collectivist authoritarianism.

This double-barrelled truth was known to the men who drafted the American Federal Constitution. It was seen that while the Confederation required to be superseded by Federation, a federal union could be maintained only if the powers of the Federal authority were drastically limited.* And so while Congress was given sole power to regulate inter-State commerce, impose tariffs and issue currency, the early Amendments to the Constitution, embodied in the Bill of Rights, explicitly denied it the powers necessary to establish an authoritarian regime.

The more centralized the Federal system, moreover, the greater the difficulty of maintaining local (national) vigor and independence and political liberty. Concentration of economic and political power

* Cf. Walter Lippmann, *The Good Society*.

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VISION OF A FREE EUROPE

"As against this spectre of Nazi-dominated Europe we oppose the vision of a truly free Europe. We envisage free Europe, free for individual and for nation, free in the sense of giving full scope for personal and national self-development and self-perfection, each according to his own individual lines. In that fundamental sense we continue on the historic trail of human progress. But we have also learned that discipline and organization must go hand-in-hand with freedom. The failure of the League of Nations was largely due to the absence of a central control which could harmonize the freedom of each with the proper functioning of the whole of the human society. We therefore aim at a society of nations which will supply this defect and which will possess a central organization equipped with the necessary authority and powers to supervise the common concerns of mankind."

GENERAL SMUTS

P O L A N D A S A S E A P O W E R

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tion relations between the Polish coast and its hinterland, it is necessary to make mention of the principal connection, which existed before the war and planned. The former network of railways has been considerably extended and improved. The most important advance in this field was the construction of the Upper Silesian and Gdynia Coal Traffic Line, which together with two other lines constituted the backbone of Poland's railway system connecting inland areas with the sea.

For the development of ports and overseas trade, maritime transport and especially the density of the system of connections offered by regular lines as also their frequency have equal importance with communication facilities with the hinterland. Especially for Gdynia, which arose and developed into a great port within the course of only a few years, the



The Present Harbor Territory of Gdynia in 1922. On the sands and swamps, had arisen during a few years, not only the new city containing 110,000 inhabitants, but also the largest Port on the Baltic, the Most Modern Port in Europe.

establishment of a suitable number of regular lines to various parts of the world possessed actual and vital significance.

Action undertaken with this end in view was successfully brought to a head. The Port of Gdynia before the war had more than fifty regular line services, of which seventeen were under the Polish flag. Among these, special note should be taken of the services to North, Central and South America, to the Far and the Near East, Australia, and to South Africa. Danzig also had a relatively considerable number of lines at its disposal; about forty were then in operation.

Describing the gains effected in building up a merchant fleet under the Polish flag, it is necessary to hark back to the first few post-War years, when the first attempts were made to establish a merchant marine by private interests. Unfortunately, no positive results were yielded by this action. It was for this reason that the Polish Government, during the period when the country's maritime policy was being regenerated, found itself obliged to undertake the

direct functions of a shipowner, particularly in the field of regular line services. With this end in view, the Zegluga Polska Shipping Company was founded in 1926-7 as a purely State-owned and operated enterprise. It began work at the beginning of 1927 with the help of five tramps acquired from the French. At the same time, however, the Polish au-



Gdynia in 1939. Where, until recently, it was merely an uninhabited sandy coast.

thorities endeavored to interest private initiative in establishing a merchant marine. These efforts led to the organization of a special shipping company (the Robur Company) by one of the largest coal concerns in Katowice (Upper Silesia) working with highly gratifying results. Further stages in the rise of a Polish mercantile marine were: the formation in 1929 of the Polish-British Steamship Co. by Polish and English capital for the maintenance of regular communication with the Ports of London and Hull; the establishment of the Polish Transatlantic Shipping Co. (known as the Gdynia-Ameryka Line Zeglugowe S.A.) in 1930 with the object of maintaining regular communication between Gdynia, New York and Halifax; in the same year, the first regular line of the Zegluga Polska Shipping Co. commenced work on the Baltic, serving the ports of Latvia, Estonia and Finland. No detailed data need be given regarding the further growth of the system of regular lines under the Polish flag radiating from Gdynia.

The Polish shipping companies served in 1939 seventeen lines to various foreign ports, some of them quite distant. The Polish merchant marine, which in 1922 consisted of 3 ships with total of 5,500 gross registered tonnage, increased to 116 ships with total tonnage of 140,000 gross registered tons in 1939.

Mention has already been made that when Poland took her first steps in organizing her overseas trade, immediately after the First World War, there was an acute lack of properly trained and experienced personnel. It was for this reason that the Maritime School was founded in 1920; it afforded instruction to those who wished to devote themselves to a career in the mercantile marine as navigators or ships' engi-

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is necessary if the Federal authority is to embark on collectivist "planning." But this precludes national autonomy within the Federal framework, although, as in the Soviet Union, a façade of regional independence may be presented in the form of State administrative organs which, in practice, are merely agents of the central authority. Neither would political liberty remain in such conditions; if, as even former admirers of Russian collectivism are at last beginning to concede, national authoritarianism has not afforded political liberty, there is little reason to suppose that authoritarianism which extends beyond national boundaries will preserve it.

Finally, regional and national decentralization is necessary in the interest of stability. And this for two reasons: History teaches that centralization promotes instability, and ultimately produces disunity. The First British Empire dissolved largely because it was mercantilist; the strength and stability of the Third British Empire will not easily decay so long as it remains liberal; and here the Ottawa Agreements were no aid to Imperial harmony. It is not permissible to adduce the totalitarian States as evidence of the compatibility of centralization with political cohesion; the unity of totalitarianism derives not from the nature of its governance but from the coercive powers of its government. The lesson for the new Europe is that it must be lightly governed. If collectivist or other economic schemes are desired, they must be undertaken by the States, insofar as

they are compatible with the Federal framework, and not by the Federal authority. The degree of the limits which this condition imposes on national collectivism is a different matter.

But there is a more particular reason why stability demands decentralization. Differences in degrees of national political maturity in Europe are a reason not only for approaching Federation cautiously, but also for investing it with a considerable degree of decentralization (or possibly for creating a series of regional Federations rather than a single Federal area). Political democracy as it is known in the West is a matter of ideals and traditions as well as of institutions. Where these ideals are lacking the machinery will be unused or misused. The political institutions which bring harmony and progress in the West may spell instability and anarchy in Central and Eastern Europe. Differentiation of political forms is therefore desirable, and, so long as certain key powers — in particular the power to impose national tariffs — are surrendered to a common body, it is also unobjectionable.

How, then, is freedom to be restored to the new Europe? The lesson of the decades after the First Great War is that freedom for nations does not bring freedom for peoples, but militates against it. But if the peoples of Europe are to surrender sovereign powers, they do so the better to be able to affirm their cultural essence, not to become the slaves of a political Frankenstein. And to achieve this end the utmost national autonomy compatible with the Federal nature of the association must be preserved.

P O L A N D S P E A K S

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The Polish-Lithuanian Union, formed voluntarily, survived for centuries and fell only under the blows of a foreign hand, although at the close of the Polish Commonwealth, in the year 1791, the two nations united in one State pledged themselves to maintain the Republic undivided. The traditions of a common State linked the two peoples throughout the long years of foreign bondage in the XIXth Century and in their insurrection against the partitioning powers.

Interesting testimony to the endeavors of Poland to conclude unions of nations was given by a British traveller named Harley who at the end of the XVIth Century wrote that the Polish kings accomplished remarkable things in order to consolidate their dominions, giving to their provinces the privileges enjoyed by the Polish noblemen. After enumerating the countries which had united with Poland, he added that equal benefits and honors created a unity of purpose in dangers and difficulties.

Geographical situation and history favored voluntary unions of the nations situated between Russia and Germany. The course of the present war again, after many bitter experiences, confirms the expediency of such unions. Several centuries ago Poland achieved the unity of three nations within the framework of one State.

As early as the XVth Century the Polish State was described by its citizens as *bonum commune*, that is *res communis* or *res publica*, with a king at the head.

It was conceived in the same manner as the British Commonwealth of Nations, now admired by all the world. That is how the name *Rzeczpospolita*, the *res communis*, has been sanctioned by tradition throughout the centuries.

P O L A N D A S A S E A P O W E R

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neers. Various courses were also organized for the benefit of those already working in the several domains of maritime endeavor. Special scholarships were granted to marine engineers, economists and specialists in overseas trade and practice, whilst similar facilities have been extended to those who intended to take up ship-broking as a career; in this connection arrangements have been made for such workers to secure practical experience in other countries.

The twenty-year operation of the School has yielded excellent results. More than 90 percent of the officers on the vessels of the Polish merchant marine — from the lowest to the highest ranks were graduated from this School.

This brief review of what Poland has effected in the domain of maritime affairs in such a short time of twenty years, enables us to realize the enormous efforts made and at the same time leads to the conclusion that the aggregate of the attainments represents, in spite of all present war difficulties, only the primary foundations for the future of Poland on the sea.